555 565 517 701 The road to status and wealth through education and government service was often bypassed in time of chaos; military skills would enable individuals to obtain high positions in the bureaucracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity by reason of their parents' wealth to acquire learning under the tutelage of well-known scholars.

C. Social Organizations

575 579 Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class

and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

575 also called Hung-pang. The bulk ofthe membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed , and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of this society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lao Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass following. 7

575 While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at
548 the overthrow ofthe existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pang were utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extra-legal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even among civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of
575 China. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for

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7. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi pei yen-chiu she, 1941.

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate
575 organization to the family existed to assume its
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for
668 procreation and for child-care until the young
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

576 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

214 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

779 their original purpose; the decline in the last
771 twenty-five years has been accelerated.

779 In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists
771 have moved to bring to an end a complex of an-
668 cient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed 32 indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer." At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Health Drive, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

779 Another Taoist-linked institution is the
771 secret society. These organizations have
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32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-Character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

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779 575 668 771 traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, expecially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les sociétés secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

779 and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That
• 575 his claims of victory were premature is sug-
668 gested by a recent report of the dissolution of
771 five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to inflitrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance is discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China.

The Pai-lien Chiao (White Lotus Society) has a long history. It was founded some seven hundred years ago and was then a focus of Chinese resistance to the Mongol invaders. In 1794, 1801, and 1813 its members rebelled against the Manchu dynasty. The society's areas of strength in modern times have been the provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Hopei. It has many branches, some of which will be considered separately below.[36]

The Hung-ch'iang Hui (Society of Redspears) an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, fought bandits, government troops, and warlord armies between 1916 and 1924. It was strong in Shansi,

34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 158.

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779 Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Anhwei, but its
575 center of strength has since shifted to the south
668 and southwest.[37]
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The Tsai-li Hui (Principle Abiding Society) is often regarded as a branch of the White Lotus Society. Despite frequent persecution, it has remained strong, particularly in Hopei, Shantung, and Honan. Its public halls were to be found all over the north, especially in Tientsin and Peking. It attracted artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, and a small number of intellectuals.[38]

The Ko-lao Hui (Society of Elders) is somewhat more religious than other societies and has a history of resistance to government controls. Founded in Fukien, it has had important strength in Central and West China and in the North. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[39]

The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) was founded soon after the revolution of 1911, but it grew most rapidly after 1928. It gained strength and extended its activities throughout North China during the period of Japanese occupation.[40] Its central office was probably

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37. Ibid., p. 159.
38. Ibid., pp. 156-57.
39. Ibid., pp. 160,-61.
40. Ibid., pp. 166-67. Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-koan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

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779 in Shantung, but its center of publication was in
•575 Tientsin. The society was under severe pressure
668 from the Nationalist Government, which seized
771 two of its local headquarters and dispersed its members.[41] Nevertheless, it has survived. A Communist release on June 16, 1955, indicated that the society is still a disciplined and resourceful organization, at least in the Kalgan region.[42]

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

779 This religion was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, see the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Modammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have

41. Grootaers, op. cit., pp. 316, 351.
42. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

668 regulations, to guard state property, to
687 safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations became the duties of every worker.

687 Despite the enforcement of all these measures, sabotage activities grew with the expansion of industry. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang revealed that there were a total of 364,604 sabotage cases throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955. The destruction of the Hsia Hua Yüan mining area in Hopei in 1955 was cited as a deliberate act of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries.[26] The total number of sabotage cases in Hopei Province in 1954 was reported[27] to be approximately 160 per cent above the number reported in 1953. In Shansi, in 1954, sabotage rate doubled in the course of a year.

D. Secret Societies

669 The most widespread and persistent resistance
575 to the Communist regime in the North China Region was offered by the secret societies. Secret societies, as rebellious organizations, have invariably represented the Chinese people's resistance to social change. Moreover, in a society such as exists in Communist China today, where the individual has lost all sense of identity, the appeal of secret societies which preach stoicism and indifference may be great, especially among the illiterate peasants and workers. For this reason, the Communists have singled out

26. Ibid., Jul.3,1955,p. 1.

27. Shih Liang's report ibid., Jul.30, 1955, p. 6.

669 secret societies as one of the chief groups for
575 suppression. Also, the Communists have charged some secret socieites with being agents for the Nationalists, claiming that society headquarters have been used as meeting places for gangsters, vagrants, and subversive groups plotting against the regime.

As early as June 1949, an order to outlaw secret societies was issued by the former North China People's Government. Many of the larger societies, including the I Kuan Tao, the Fo Chiao Hui, the Ta Fo Tao, the Sheng-Hsien Tao, the Ming Yen Tao, and the Hsien T'ien Tao, were outlawed. Among the secret societies existing in North China, some were identified as having nationwide organizations. As of June 1951, according to a Communist report, liason among certain secret societies had been established in all regions.[28] Secret societies in the Southwest China Region, for example, were reported to be receiving their instructions from various headquarters in Shansi Province.

The most active and widespread secret society was the I Kuan Tao,[29] which was formed in the province of Shantung in the 1920's. It expanded throughout the North China Region and was, according to the Communists, one of the most active espionage organizations employed

28. Ibid., June 5, 1951, p. 3.

29. See Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook] No. 4, Dec. 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, Jan. 1951, pp. 38-43.

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575 by the Japanese to spy on the Communists during the war of resistance against Japan. The effort to eliminate the I Kuan Tao was concentrated in Shansi Province. In 1950 in Shansi, the I Kuan Tao was reported to have a following of 870,000, most of whom were peasants and working people.[30] In a village in Tai hsien in Shansi Province, peasants constituted 74 per cent of the 544 followers of the I Kuan Tao. During 1950, when the Communists were attempting to suppress the I Kuan Tao, the provincial government of Shansi issued orders to concentrate all available forces on the areas where the secret society had its greatest influence.[31] In the 734 villages selected, as many as 82,300 members of that organization were forced to resign; of this number, 1,692 were "leaders" and 133 were "priests" of the society.

Despite long and ruthless attempts at suppression, the activities of the I Kuan Tao have not diminished. There is evidence that the secret society is growing in power in the North China Region and that it has gained influence in other regions. In Kalgan, for instance, an administrative district in Hopei Province, some 36 cases involving the activities of secret societies[32] were brought to trial in 1955. The Communists reported that during

30. People's Daily, Dec. 23, 1950, p.3.
31. Ibid., Nov. 28, 1950, p. 1.
32. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], June 19, 1955, p. 1.

669 these raids they seized many secret meeting
575 places capable of holding several hundred people and that weapons and other implements intended for espionage purposes were confiscated. During 1951, at least one self-styled "emperor" and many officers were arrested.

668 Apart from the issuance of orders to
575 outlaw secret societies, their suppression involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of membership and the activities in which the societies were involved. Many leaders were captured as a result of these mass demonstrations. Another method employed by the Communists involved a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of the secret societies. The societies had acquired leadership of the labor groups in charge of wharves, railway stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists launch a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

668 II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

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543 One wonders whether the omission of worship by this lately organized fair points toward the gradual elimination of worship from the other fairs. It seems probable that the worship feature will continue, but with fewer and fewer worshipers. Even now by no means all of the people stop to burn a bundle of incense and bow in front of the altar before they enjoy the fair.

The fairs were a great opportunity for entertainment and recreation. They were also the occasion for the local people to sell their products and buy things brought in by itinerant merchants. They also brought considerable income to those who could rent quarters to visitors. It will be noted that farm products such as grain and vegetables were not listed as on sale at the fairs. The taxes collected on animals, wood, and other local products sold during the fair were a big item, but, as the tax collection privilege had been bought from the hsien, the amount collected at the fairs went to the tax collector rather than to the government tax office.

Some people complained that the expense of entertaining visiting friends and relatives who came for the fair was a heavy financial burden and was an annual item; also that there was a great temptation to spend more at the fair than the family budget could afford. The fairs also attracted thieves, pickpockets, confidence men, and gamblers.

The fairs were one of few occasions during the year when the entire family came out for recreation and entertainment and so were one of the few times that large numbers of women were seen abroad.

Religious Societies

575 794 Besides the temples to which anyone could go for worship there were special Buddhist and Taoist societies with a limited membership. Only members were admitted to their meetings; there were special rules of conduct and abstinence for their members. Most of these organizations, especially the Taoist ones, had many of the characteristics of secret societies, with a ritual, dogma, and practice known only to their members. Consequently we have been able to secure only general information about them. As far as we could learn several societies may be represented in a given village, but a person can be a member of only one. In the 62 villages of the Experimental District we found one Buddhist and nine Taoist societies. At least six of the Taoist societies had both men and women members.

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The Buddhist society was called the Universal Salvation Buddhist Society. It was named for the monk Pu Chi, whose doctrines it was formed to perpetuate after his death at Wu T'ai Shan. Joining the society involved the payment of an initiation fee, a contribution that was said to bring blessing and benefit to departed parents and relatives. It was reported that there were 854 members in 13 villages.

The Taoist societies in the order of size were The Grain Carrying, Pei Liang Tao; The Sage and Virtuous, Sheng Hsien Tao; The Nine Functions, Chiu Kung Tao; The Teachers' Society, Lao Shih Tao; The Li Men, doctrine sect; The Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect; The Sitting and Practising, Tso Kung Tao; The Quiet Heart, Ching Hsin Tao; The Gold Incense, Chin Hsiang Tao.

The Pei Liang Tao got its name from the fact that on the 15th of the month certain of the women and on the 16th certain of the men put a package of grain on their backs and went out to call on their fellow members and to try to convert others. On the 1st of the month the members met at the home of the head of the group. The grain they carried on their backs was used for food at the meeting or while on the road. At their meeting the members sang songs together and practiced contemplation. They said that with practice magic rays came from their eyes and that they were able to see the spirits of the dead. There were 570 members in six villages.

The Sheng Hsien Tao was started in Ting Hsien on the 24th of the 8th month of 1898 by a man named Wang Tang Chia who said he came from San Tsun Fo Shan or the Three Buddha Hill. Meetings were held every three months, at which time one of the older members was invited to preach the doctrine of the society. The rules required that the members abstain from dog meat, pigeons, and wild geese. In order that they might receive a blessing the members sang songs and practiced contemplation. The Sheng Hsien Tao had 243 members in 22 villages.

The Chiu Kung Tao came from T'ai Shan in Shantung, where it was started in 1852. It first reached Ting Hsien in 1854, coming by way of T'ang Hsien. The members of this society were not allowed to eat meat, garlic, or onions, to drink wine, or to use tobacco. It was said that they could predict future danger and happiness, could cure people, and with practice could learn to see the spirits of the dead. No regular meetings were held but when a member effected a cure the family of the patient arranged for a meeting. Some families asked the members not only to

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work cures but also to bring a blessing to their deceased parents and relatives. This society had 109 members in five villages.

The Lao Shih Tao, Teachers' Society, was started during the reign of Shun Chih, 1644–1661, by a man called Tung Szu Feng Tzu who lived in Shantung. The Emperor sent for him, liked him, and encouraged him to preach his doctrine. He accompanied the Emperor on a trip to T'ai Shan. The society first came to Ting Hsien in 1822. It got its name from the fact that its members addressed each other as Lao Shih, teacher, whenever they met on the street. The rules of the society prohibited the use of meat. The members were said to be able to predict the future. There were 106 members in 13 villages.

The Li Men, doctrine sect, was founded by Yang Tzu during the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722. He originally taught how to control the mind and body and how to practice self denial. His followers, who had given up many of the original beliefs and practices, worshiped the fox, snake, and weasel and abstained from wine and tobacco. The society held a meeting once a year. New members were initiated at that time. The charge for the meeting was some 70 cents and a meal was served those who attended. This society seems to have had more organization than most of the others, with a head man, a business manager, a supervisor, and a number of preachers. The head office of the society was near Yenchiang in Kua Chia T'un. There were 90 members in 16 villages.

Members of the Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect, were said to burn incense and kotow 800 times after midnight on the 1st and 15th of the month. The society held no regular meetings but came together occasionally when one of the members had worked a cure and the cured man provided for the meeting. At such meetings the general beliefs of the group were set forth. The society was said also to have considerable secret material known only to the members. There were 28 members in three villages.

The Tso Kung Tao, founded on the shores of the Hsi Hu, or Western Lake, came to T'ang Hsien in 1650 and to Ting Hsien in 1661. As far as we could learn the chief duty of the members was to practice contemplation and the development of the quiet mind, thereby bringing longevity to the body and harmony to the soul. They sat down and meditated three times a day, early morning, noon, and midnight. They believed that if they practiced well their souls could leave their bodies and travel around the world. They also believed that this freedom of the

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soul made it possible for them to communicate with the spirits and that from them they could get the power to cure sickness.

The members of this Tao met in the home of the head of the society on the 15th day of the 1st, 5th, and 9th months. They all contributed money to cover the cost of the meeting but the largest item was always the meal served to the members. Any surplus was used for the good of the group. The society had only nine members in one village.

The Ching Hsin Tao and Chin Hsiang Tao were, to the outsider, very similar to the Tso Kung Tao in their practices of contemplation and the quiet mind. It was not possible to discover just how the societies differed from each other in belief and teaching. The Ching Hsin Tao had only seven members in one village. The Ching Hsiang Tao had but five members.

The total membership in the nine Taoist societies was 1,167. It was not possible to determine from the field reports how many of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had one or more Taoist societies, but as the nine societies reported 68 village organizations and the Sheng Hsien Tao was represented in 22 villages, it seems probable that at least half and possibly two-thirds of the villages had one or more of the Taoist groups represented among their inhabitants.

It will be noted that contemplation was used by the members of most of these Taoist organizations in order to gain peace of mind, freedom of the soul, and contact with the spirit world and in some instances to develop the power of healing. Some, but not all, of the societies required their members to abstain from the use of all or special kinds of meat, wine, and tobacco. It would seem probable, therefore, that the membership would include the more devout Taoists and would be made up largely of older men and women. One investigator reported that the members were largely old type schoolmasters, men without regular occupations, and obstinate men, that some of the members joined because they were old and had no sons or no children. He also reported that the women members were well along in years and that not a few of them were widows.

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Besides the societies directly connected with Buddhism and Taoism there were others that had no religious connection but appealed to the people on the basis of morality and good works. The Wan Kuo Tao Te Hui, International Moral Society, founded in 1921 in Shantung, first came to Ting Hsien in 1923. Many people joined at that time, especially

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575 those with some education. Since then the membership had fallen off The society had some secret rules and regulations and was very strict on keeping them secret. The group held no regular meetings. In the Experimental District there were members in only one village.

The Hao Shih Hui, Good Deeds Society, came to Ting Hsien from An Kuo Hsien in 1906. All that we could learn about this society was that it held a three day meeting beginning on the 19th of the first month. The amusements provided included theatricals, acrobats, and performing monkeys. The expense of the meeting was met by contributions from the members. Only a few families in one village in the Experimental District were members.

776 We did not attempt a study of the powers, attributes, and history of the gods of Ting Hsien, as they generally were the same as the gods worshiped in other parts of China and have been studied and described by others. A list of the gods represented in the Ting Hsien temples will, however, give an idea of the spirits worshiped in that area.[1]

Chang Fei, companion of Kuan Ti.
Ch'eng Huang, god of the city walls and moat.
Ch'i Shen, seven spirits of seven stars of the Big Dipper.
Chiang T'ai Kung, hero of 12th century B.C., reincarnated as advisor of first Chou Emperor.
Chiu Shen, nine gods in charge of nine levels of heaven.
Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects.
Confucius, China's great teacher, philosopher, and sage.
Dragons, gods of rain, rivers, and streams.
Erh Lang, nephew of Yü Huang, with power over ghosts and evil spirits.
Fox spirits.
Han Tsu, distributor of buckwheat seed.
Ho Shen, river god.
Kuan Yin, Buddhist goddess of mercy.
Kuan Yü, also known as Kuan Ti or Kuang Kung, hero of Three Kingdoms, god of war, literature, and the theatre.
Lao Tzu, reputed founder of Taoism.
Liu Pei, god of carpenters, hero of Three Kingdoms.
Ma Mien, horse face, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Ma Wang, King of the horses.
Niang Niangs, group of female deities.

1. We are indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for her help in securing information on the character, history, and classification of the gods.

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

1. The Chamber of Commerce.

441 575 The Chamber of Commerce is usually the most important and influential economic organisation in every city and town in China, showing the power of trade in the life of modrn society. Ching Ho is no exception, although the history of the Chamber of of Commerce here only dates back to 1919, and was the result of an incident in the town at the time. One store keepers in the town was arrested by the police on a slight pretext, and the merchants acted together and were able to affect the release of the man. After this incident the merchants felt that there was need for some organisation through wbich they could act in case of necessity, and thus the Chamber of Commerce was formed. As there is no such organisation in the Wan Ping territory the Chamber was not recognized by the County Government, but two of its officers were recognized as Commercial Trustees of the town.

The Chamber had no office of its own and no regular meetings or business. It was controlled by a president, a vice-president and a council of fifteen store representatives. In the first instance the officers and rspresentatives were all grain merchants who arc the most numerous ane powerful in Ching Ho, but later the cotton goods merchants succeeded in obtain-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

ind places for two of their representatives. This was 441
the only change that took place after the Chamber 575
was founded. About 60 stores were regular members
ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber
had also the right to levy definite contributions from
other stores who were not members, as a recognition
of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation
which looked after the welfare and interests of the
trading Center.

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town 441
of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 656